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Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 198335 TOSEC 090004
ORIGIN SS-25

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT FLASH

S E C R E T STATE 198335 TOSEC 090004

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEL AVIV 9999 ACTION STATE BEIRUT JERUSALEM
INFO AMMAN CAIRO DAMASCUS JIDDA LONDON USUN PARIS AUG 5.

QUOTE S E C R E T TEL AVIV 9999

EXDIS

EPT PASS SECRETARY

NKKO. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PBOR, MILI, PORG, UNSC, LE, IS
SUBJECT: SOUTH LEBANON

REF: (A) STATE 197468; (B) BEIRUT 4484 (C) JERUSALEM 2157
(D) BEIRUT 4473

1. AFTER GOING OVER CAREFULLY SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 5,
ALL OF REFTELS AND AVAILABLE INTELLIGENCE REPORTS,
I TELEPHONED WEIZMAN TO EXCHANGE LATEST VIEWS AND
CARRY OUT INSTRUCTIONS IN REF A. HE WAS IN A
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DISCOURAGED FRAME OF MIND AND SAW NO IMMEDIATE SOLUTION
FOR IMPASSE. HE CONFIRMED THAT BOTH MEETINGS INVOLVING
HADDAD YESTERDAY HAD GONE BADLY (REF C), INCLUDING THE
TETE-A-TETE BETWEEN COLONEL SAAD AND MAJOR HADDAD IN
THE AFTERNOON, IN WHICH THE TWO SPOKE ALONE IN ARABIC
ACCORDING TO JERUSALEM'S REPORT FROM UN SOURCES.

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2. WEIZMAN SAID THAT HADDAD WAS EXTREMELY AGITATED
AFTER THESE MEETINGS AND IN NO MOOD WHATSOEVER TO
COMPROMISE. HE HAS ALLEGED THAT CUQ OFFERED HIM
$150 THOUSAND TO LEAVE THE AREA (*).
I IMMEDIATELY CHIMED IN TO SAY THAT THIS WAS CERTAINLY
RIDICULOUS TO BELIEVE THAT CUQ MADE SUCH AN OFFER AND WEIZMAN AGREED.
WE BOTH THOUGHT THAT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE THAT CUP HAD TRIED
TO
ENCOURAGE HADDAD TO ACCEPT THE LEBANESE OFFER OF MONEY,
WHICH WAS APPARENTLY REPEATED BY SAAD IN YESTERDAY
AFTERNOON'S MEETING AND ANGRILY REJECTED.
WEIZMAN THOUGHT IT ALSO POSSIBLE THAT CUQ HAD AT
SOME STAGE ACTED AS A GO-BETWEEN FOR THE LEBANESE
IN PRESENTING SOME KIND OF MONETARY OFFER. WHATEVER
THE TRUTH IS, HADDAD IMMEDIATELY GAVE THE STORY TO
ISRAELI TELEVISION LAST EVENING, WHICH APPARENTLY
CARRIED IT AND THUS FURTHER COMPLICATED MATTERS FOR THE UN.

3. I THEN SAID TO WEIZMAN THAT I HAD BEEN ASKED THROUGH
AMBASSADOR PARKER TO PUT AS A STRONG PRIORITY REQUEST
FROM THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT
THE FOLLOWING QUESTION: "COULD THE ISRAELIS FORGET
MAJOR HADDAD AND ALLOW THE LEBANESE TO SETTLE THIS
PROBLEM IN THEIR OWN WAY, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT
MAJOR HADDAD WOULD NOT BE HARMED." I REPEATED THIS
REQUEST TWICE VERBATIM DURING OUR CONVERSATION. HE
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DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY, AND THE DISCUSSION WENT OFF
IN ANOTHER DIRECTION. I THOUGHT THIS WAS A SIGNIFICANT
INDICATOR OF THE TURBULENT STATE OF MIND HERE AT THE
MOMENT ON WHAT TO DO ABOUT AN INCREASINGLY INTRACTABLE QUESTION.

4. I EXPLAINED TO WEIZMAN THAT BOUTROS SEEMS PREPARED
TO AGREE THAT THE QUESTION OF HADDAD'S STATUS BE SET
ASIDE FOR THE TIME BEING AS PART OF A GENERAL AGREEMENT
OVER MOVEMENTS AND ROUTES, BUT I MADE CLEAR THAT BOUTROS
DID NOT RPT NOT AS YET HAVE THE AGREEMENT OF SARKIS AND HOSS.

5. WEIZMAN AND I THEN TALKED ABOUT HOW THIS ISSUE WOULD
BE DISCUSSED WITH SECRETARY VANCE TOMORROW. WEIZMAN WAS
CLEARLY UNHAPPY THAT THE SECRETARY'S MEETINGS HERE
WOULD BE TAKEN UP WITH THE LEBANON QUESTION.
HE WANTS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE PROBLEM OF EGYPT, WHICH IS
IN HIS MIND OVERRIDING.

6. I ASKED WHETHER WEIZMAN THOUGHT HE HIMSELF MIGHT HAVE
MORE LUCK WITH HADDAD IF HE WERE IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH
HIM. HE SAID HE HAD CAREFULLY NOT BEEN IN DIRECT
CONTACT AND WORKED THROUGH HIS MILITARY CHAIN OF COMMAND,

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AND HE WAS VERY DOUBTFUL HE SHOULD CHANGE THAT
PRACTICE. HOWEVER, HE SAID HE WOULD THINK ABOUT IT FRUTHER.

M AT THE END OF THE CONVERSATION, WEIZMAN SAID HE
WANTED TO PONDER "THE WHOLE MESS" AND WOULD
BE IN TOUCH WITH ME ABOUT 6:00 P.M. SATURDAY
EVENING TO LET ME KNOW WHERE HE HAS COME OUT. ONCE
AGAIN, I TOOK HIS OVERALL REACTIONS AS SUGGESTING THAT
THE ISRAELIS ARE WRESTLING VERY HARD WITH THEIR DILEMMA,
AND THAT THERE MAY BE SOME HINT OF FURTHER GIVE IN THEIR
POSITION.

8. WITHIN 15 MINUTES, GENERAL GAZIT, IDF DIRECTOR OF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND THE OFFICER CLOSEST TO WEIZMAN
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WHO HAS BEEN DIRECTLY INVOLVED WITH THE WHOLE LEBANESE
PROBLEM FROM ITS INCEPTION, TELEPHONED ME. HE HAD JUST
HAD A TROUBLED CONVERSATION WITH WEIZMAN. HE
ASKED ME SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STATE OF PLAY WHICH
MADE CLEAR THAT HE DID NOT PRECISELY UNDERSTAND WHAT
HAD BEEN ACCEPTED AND WHAT HAD BEEN REJECTED BY WHOM
THUS FAR. I MADE CLEAR THAT ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO
FULL AGREEMENT FROM SARKIS AND HOSS ABOUT THE MANNER
OF ADVANCING THE FORCE OR THE PRECISE ROUTE, IT LOOKED
TO ME AS IF THESE ISSUES COULD BE RESOLVABLE IN
BEIRUT IF THE STATUS OF HADDAD COULD BE RESOLVED.
I TOLD GAZIT WHAT I HAD SAID TO EZER ABOUT THE MESSAGE
I HAD BEEN ASKED TO PASS TO THE GOI: I.E. PLEASE FORGET
ABOUT HADDAD AND LET THE LEBANESE SETTLE THE PROBLEM
IN THEIR OWN WAY SO LONG AS IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT HE
WOULD NOT BE HARMED. GAZIT SAID HE WAS AFRAID THE
ISRAELIS JUST COULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH ASSURANCES FROM
THE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES, IN THE WAKE OF EVERYTHING
THAT HAD HAPPENED BETWEEN BEIRUT AND THE SOUTHERN
CHRISTIANS IN THE PAST THREE YEARS.

9. AT THIS POINT, HOWEVER, I HEARD SOMETHING WHICH
GIVES ME A RAY OF HOPE THAT WE MAY
SEE SOME DAYLIGHT SOON. GAZIT ASKED WHETHER AGREEMENT
MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE ON THE FOLLOWING BASIS: THE LAF
FORCE ADVANCES TO TIBNIN WITH ITS EQUIPMENT IN SMALL
CONTINGENTS, ESCORTED BY UNIFIL. THE ROUTE THEY WOULD
TAKE WOULD GO SOUTH TO THE BORDER AND THEN ALONG THE
FENCE AVOIDING PASSING DIRECTLY THROUGH MARJUYOUN.
AND, MAJOR HADDAD'S STATUS IS LEFT IN ABEYANCE FOR
THE TIME BEING - WITH HIM ACTING DE FACTO AS HE
HAS PREVIOUSLY DONE AND WITHOUT RPT WITHOUT THE REQUIRE-
MENT FOR ANY FORMAL REINSTATEMENT OR ANNULLING OF HIS
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ORDERS BY BEIRUT. I TOLD GAZIT THAT THIS WAS EXACTLY
WHAT I THOUGHT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE; IN FACT IT WAS WHAT
WEIZMAN AND I HAD DISCUSSED ON THE MORNING OF JULY 28.
SUBSEQUENTLY, HADDAD HAD INTRODUCED THE ADDITIONAL
DEMAND OF FORMAL REINSTATEMENT, AND EVERYTHING HAD BEEN
STUCK FROM THEN ON OVER THIS ISSUE. GAZIT SAID
HE THOUGHT "PERHAPS WE CAN SOLVE THAT." I URGED HIM
TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO DO SO, AND HE PROMISED TO BE
BACK IN TOUCH.

10. GAZIT TELEPHONED ME 15 MINUTES LATER, OBVIOUSLY AFTER
TALKING AGAIN WITH WEIZMAN, TO MAKE CLEAR THAT HE COULD
NOT GUARANTEE ANYTHING YET AND THAT THERE WAS A LOT OF
DIFFICULT SLOGGING TO DO WITH HADDAD. HE RAISED ONE
OTHER IDEA FOR A FACE-SAVING DEVICE WHICH MIGHT BE
WORTH EXPLORING IN BEIRUT. IF, HE SAID,THE REGULAR
PAYMENT OF SALARY WERE MADE TO HADDAD ON SCHEDULE THIS
MIGHT BE SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE OF HIS STATUS FOR HIM TO
ACCEPT (GAZIT CLAIMS THAT SALARIES FOR HADDAD AND
OF HIS MEN HAVE BEEN BROUGHT IN CASH ON A REGULAR
MONTHLY BASIS TO NAQOURA AND THEN TAKEN TO THE ENCLAVES
AND DISTRIBUTED BY SOME LEBANESE ARMY REPRESENTATIVE).

11. GAZIT HOPES PERHAPS TO HAVE SOME FURTHER WORD BY
THIS EVENING OR TOMORROW MORNING. HE IS CLEARLY
DIRECTLY ENGAGED, AND I HAVE THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION
THAT WEIZMAN HAS TOLD HIM TO TRY SOME WAY TO RESOLVE
THE ISSUE BEFORE THE TALKS WITH VANCE TOMORROW.
WHETHER HE WILL BE ABLE TO OR NOT, IS VERY DIFFERENT QUESTION.

12. WITH RESPECT TO THE PROPOSED TEXT OF THE LETTER
FROM SECRETARY VANCE TO BOUTROS (REF B), I THINK
IT IS GENERALLY GOOD, ALTHOUGH I WILL HAVE A FEW
SUGGESTIONS TO OFFER ON THE TEXT TO THE SECRETARY
IF WE DECIDE TO GO DOWN THIS ROUTE.

13. ONE FINAL POINT: IT SHOULD BE CLEAR NOW TO
EVERYONE AFTER THE PRIVATE MEETING BETWEEN SAAD
AND HADDAD THAT HADDAD HIMSELF IS A MAJOR PART OF THE
PROBLEM, NOT JUST THE ISRAELI DESIRE TO KEEP HIM IN
PLACE, ALTHOUGH THAT IS UNDOUBTEDLY A SUBSTANTIAL FACTOR
IN THE EQUATQUATION. LEWIS UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Type: TE
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